

Social Democratic Herald

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For the Abolition of Capitalism, and the Coöperative Production and Distribution of all Wealth.

Colonize Congress.

No Escape from Capitalism Until the Great Majority of the People Can Be Moved to Demand It.

The Rev. W. D. P. Bliss in his admirable little brochure on "What is Socialism?" says very truthfully, "In America, Socialism being a younger movement, has scarcely outgrown its utopian stage." It is to be deplored that this is so, yet the fact must be reckoned with, nevertheless. To the scientific Socialist, one who believes in social evolution and that Socialism must succeed capitalism as a historic necessity and because there is no escape from it, all utopian schemes call forth deep regret, yet at the same time almost a feeling of resignation to what seems inevitable. For it appears almost fated that many sincere people must go through such trying and futile experiences as is involved in a colony scheme before they get that clear vision of the Socialistic movement that makes safe leaders. No argument will get the colony idea out of their heads and only bitter experience will set them right. It makes no difference to them that colonies are foredoomed to failure, the particular scheme they are interested in is always a little different from the rest and therefore a sure winner.

Those who have been following Walter Wyckoff's notable contribution to Socialistic literature, "The Workers," now running in Scribner's Magazine, must have felt somewhat chagrined at his criticism of the American Socialistic movement in the installment for May, and yet the general status of the movement gave him warrant for his conclusions, as we must in all candor admit. Colony schemes are multiplying and dying one after another. It is easy to hold up visions of a promised land, a colony where the ills of the present civilization can be avoided, but as Mr. Wyckoff says, wisdom shows that the promised land is within and not without. We cannot have it until society is purified from within. Well meaning colony enthusiasts to the contrary notwithstanding, we cannot have Socialism until the great majority of the people can be moved to demand and require it—and be it. Right here lies our duty as Socialists who would help to the line. There is no escape from capitalism save to fight it to the death on its own ground. This we must make clear to the people. The very atmosphere encreling the globe is capitalistic; breathe it we must until we are able to convert it into a Socialistic atmosphere.

When a colony claims it has Socialism in operation, it says what cannot be true and thus does mischief to the revolutionary movement. The Ruskin colony deserves praise for its attitude in this regard. It is a stock company and cannot claim to be anything else. It is not self-sustaining, and has solved no great social problems. In one way the colony schemes are a positive hindrance to the American Socialistic movement. They are an abandonment of the revolutionary fight and are reactionary in so far as they serve or attempt to relieve capitalism of its congested centers of population. For mark you, capitalism believes in colonies, too—for the dispossessed class! Not long ago some capitalists on the New York Corn Exchange devised a plan to start colonies in New England, to which the unemployed of New York City could be sent. Naturally capitalists consider it a kindness when Socialists undertake the same sort of work. We have only to look back a year to see this. When the Social Democracy's colonization scheme was launched the capitalistic press even looked on approvingly. It thought the party was trying to solve one of capitalism's most vexing problems: that of taking care of the ever-growing army of hunger. This army that could only be appeased and kept tractable by "charity" is so large that its demands have become galling. And so the colonization scheme was looked upon as help from an unexpected source, and the papers were full of praise of the movement that seemed to be arranging to entice the discontented and dispossessed away somewhere (or anywhere) where they would cease to be a burden and a menace to their capitalistic fleecers. When it dawned on the press, however, that the Social Democracy was primarily a revolutionary party and that even its colonization scheme was not an economic but a political measure, its tone changed, and the old abuse of Comrade Debs was resumed and with its old-time fury.

One of the unfortunate things about

colonization schemes is that men who would otherwise expend their strength in the revolutionary movement become side-tracked by their colony ideas and their energies are absorbed in channels where the good to the cause is reduced to the minimum. The toiler, the drudge, the human machine and the child slave thus have their deliverance extended so much farther into the future. In Germany and France, and even in England, where there are no colony distractions, the energies of the revolutionists are centered on the main issue, and great revolutionary political parties are the result. It is high time the same was true of America, where not only the wage slave, but the whole society is groaning for a speedy deliverance. In America, where the people have a free ballot, the recent wonderful growth of Socialism should have, ere this, found expression by the presence in Congress of a score or more of representatives, placed there by conscious Socialistic ballots. It is time we returned Social Democracy's message from Europe. The legislative hall is our logical fighting ground. There it is that we must line up our fighters for battle. It is there that they must show their strength and there also that their strength will be nonished. Were our fighters to leave the fight and bury themselves in some colony, to there struggle for food under conflicting conditions, the cause of Socialism would wane and the proletariat would be engulfed by capitalism without so much as a protest. Experimenting with colony problems may be all right in its way—and all of us feel more or less interested in these experiments—but when it causes men to desert the real battle, it is a costly and even a criminal thing.

Not only do we breathe a capitalistic atmosphere, but our habit of mind is capitalistic in spite of ourselves. This may be clearly seen by the fact that one of the elements of weakness in a colony, and one that the projectors never figure on, is human nature itself as it exists under capitalism. Were a colony to secure material prosperity, it would not be secure, its prosperity may turn out to be its greatest weakness. In the Icarian colony there was the most discord at the very time when the colony was the most prosperous in a material way. Thus it appears that the modern colony is too much of an experiment not to engross the members' minds over numerous petty matters and to take their minds entirely away from the great world-wide struggle between the fleecers and the dispossessed. The work in hand is too important and the issue too sacred for us to distract our minds with experiments in colonization. Let us courageously face the enemy.

FREDERIC HEATH.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

The whole aim and purpose of Socialism is a closer union of Social factors. The present need is growth in that direction.—Richard P. Ely.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

Let no man fear the name of "Socialist." The movement of the working class for justice by any other name would be as terrible.—Father William Barry.

The abolition of that individual notion on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of coöperative action.—Imperial Dictionary.

A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.—Webster's Dictionary.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

A theory or polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "To everyone according to his needs."—Standard Dictionary.

Any theory of system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

AL HASSAN AND THE KING.

Al Hassan was the minstrel of a king.
The sweetest singer of the court. And
The monarch said to him:—
"Go forth into
The world and seek for themes of mirth.
Take then
Thine harp and sing, sing songs that thrill
The heart.
With gladness: that waken joyous echoes,
Blithesome, sweet; that send the blood
Swift coursing
Through the veins till even the old and
middle aged
Grow young again."

Then on his quest the bard
Went forth; and with a slight prophetic
keen,
The vision of a seer—for poets all
Are seers—he scanned the world of things
and men.
Then to his sovereign he returned. The
king
Gave to the wanderer welcome meet, while
All the court pressed round the bard to
hear him
Sing the songs of mirth and gladness
he had
Gathered in his quest.

Slowly the bard arose
And turned his eyes, deep, dark and burning
with
The mystic fire, from face to face, and
there
Was that in their still depths which none
might read.
The lyre he smote with trembling hand; and
His voice he raised in place of the blithe
and mirth
Provoking sounds it broke and fell in sighs
Deep-drawn and long. And then the golden
harp
Aided him singing.

"O, king," he cried, at thy
Command I went into the world of men;
I sought full earnestly the thing which I
Might weave into the gay and lightsome
song.
I found it, king; 'twas there. Had I the
art
To look but on the fair outside I nothing
Else had found. That art not mine, I saw
what
Lay beneath. And seeing thine I could not
sing;
For there, in dens more vile than wolf or
jackal
Ever sought, were herded, stifling, foul, the
Whirling, crawling masses of mankind.
Man!
Ground down beneath oppression's iron heel
Till God in him was crushed and driven
back,
And only that which with the brute he
shares
Finds room to upward grow.

"And in this world
I saw how womanhood's fair flower had
Never space its petals to unfold. How
Childhood's tender bud was crushed and
trampled
Down in mire and filth too evil, foul, for
beasts
To be partakers in. For gold I saw
The virgin sold; and motherhood was made
A mock and scorn.

"I saw the fruit of labor
Torn away from him who toiled, to further
Swell the bustling coffers of the rich, while
Babes and mothers pined and died of want.
I saw dishonor and injustice thrive. I saw
The wicked, ignorant, greedy and unclean,
By means of bribes and baseness, raised to
seats
Of power, from whence, with lashes, pitiless
And keen they scourged the hungry, naked
through
Whom first they robbed and then enslaved.

"All this
I saw, and more, until at last, heartsick,
Away mine eyes I turned. And then upon
Mine ears a sound arose. A muffled sound—
A mingled, hideous roar. O, king! 'twas
made
Of sighs and groans; of wailings loud and
curses
Deep, of Terror's shrieks, and madmen's
cries; of
Prayers which there were none to hear.

"And looking,
Listening then my brain took on each
vibrant
Thrill. My heart grew into one with this
great
Moaning, throbbing heart of all the world.
Each
Nerve grew tense and quivering with its
throes
Of mortal pain. And thus I learned that I
Was one with all that is. That each man's
wrong,
Or woe, or shame, is mine.

"And this is why,
O, king! when asked for songs of joy and
mirth
By thee, thy hard, Al Hassan, cannot sing."
—Stanley Fitzgerald.

The proletarian who has nothing but
his two hands, who to-day consumes
what he earned yesterday, who is de-
pendent upon all possible incidents,
and who hasn't the least guarantee
for his ability to earn the necessities
of life—every crisis, every whim of his
master can deprive him of his bread—
this proletarian is placed in the most
outrageous and inhuman position im-
aginable. To the slave, at least, a living
is guaranteed by virtue of the selfish-
ness of his master; the serf has yet a
piece of land from which he lives; they
are, at least, guaranteed a bare living
—but the proletarian alone is dependent
on himself and at the same time
unable to apply his labor-power in
such a way that he could rely on it.
Everything the proletarian can do for
the betterment of his condition van-
ishes like a drop of water before the
floods of vicissitudes to which he is
exposed and over which he has no con-
trol whatever.—Frederick Engels.

Orders for bundles should be sent to
us in advance; they will be filled at 50
cents per 100 copies. Our friends will
materially help the circulation by
sending out copies every week.

Rosa Proletaire.

Her Humble Opinion of Harmony
—The War and Our Starving
Coal Miners—Socialist
Growth in Europe.

From the contents of your last letter
I learn that you are perfectly in accord
with the new Social Democratic Party
movement. Indeed, Brother John,
every intelligent Socialist must feel
satisfied with the outcome of the Chi-
cago convention. Some good-hearted,
but short-sighted, comrades may be of
the opinion that things ought to have
been harmonized, or as a New Jersey
comrade writes in the "Gold Brick,"
every effort should be made to bring
the two factions together. Now, be-
lieve me, John, I am as sincere and
earnest in the movement as the next,
but I venture the assertion that nothing
more injurious could happen to our
movement than to "harmonize" the
clear-minded Socialist elements in the
S. D. P. of A. with the Socialistic-
Democratic - Populist - Anarchistic-
Colonistic-Goldbrickistic combination
that still attempts to heap disgrace on
the name Social Democracy.

Brother John, please tell me frankly:
Could such discordant elements as
were represented in the Ullrich's Hall
convention be truly harmonized?
Would such harmony be anything less
than a farce and a lie? Can we ever
think of building up a solid Socialist
movement on a basis such as that
represented by the Chicago "colo-
nizers" that forced their way into the
convention like the lowest sort of old
party ward-healers? Of the Social
Democratic Party we can now proudly
say "our way is clear. Harmonious
accents greet the ear. Nothing short
of a clear, Socialist movement will
lead the American proletariat to vic-
tory and success."

The Social Democratic Herald is
an excellent little paper. It will do
honor to the International Socialist
movement. John, we must insist that
every comrade secure a number of
subscribers. Fifty cents a year, 25
cents for six months! Can you get
any cheaper bona fide Socialist litera-
ture? To work, comrades! By next
week you should send in your list of
subscribers. Don't hesitate!

By the way, Comrade Wayland's
paper, "Appeal to Reason," ought to be
widely circulated as a means of agita-
tion. It is 25 cents a year. Address
Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.
There are other good Socialist papers
worthy the support of our comrades.

Yes, the war is still on. About \$500,-
000,000 or more have been blown in.
May the bloody work soon come to an
end. Suppose the American govern-
ment had spent \$500,000,000 for the
welfare of the American wage work-
ers! Suppose Uncle Sam had used
this money to buy up the coal mines
of the country, thereby freeing the
million or more coal miners and their
families from the tyranny of the coal
barons! Why, our capitalist editors
would have gone crazy about it; they
would have caused a civil war, be-
cause to save 6,000,000 starving peo-
ple in the mining regions of America
would be "paternalism." It would
mean a social revolution, but to expend
\$500,000,000 to blow up warships and
to send thousands of poor, Spanish
proletarians directly into heaven or
hell by means of monstrous dynamite
guns—yes, Brother John, that is called
true patriotism, and whoever does not
believe in this capitalist dynamite
patriotism is denounced as an enemy
to our country, as a Spaniard.

It will be well for every American
and Cuban proletarian to remember
the words of Comrade Herbert N.
Casson:

"When workers have nothing, and idlers
have all.
Law is a farce and a lie;
When prices rise higher and wages grow
small,
Freedom means freedom to die."

Citizens of America, bear in mind
the fact that a true republic will not,
and never can, prosper under the ban-
ner of bloody war. In peace and
friendship our republican institutions
will grow and become a general bene-
fit to the people. In peace and useful
labor lies our freedom. He who does
most good for our own people, for the
tolling masses, shall be the hero of the
nation and his name shall be written
in golden letters on the pages of his-
tory. We want no feudal war heroes,
we want no generation of war patriots,

but men and women whose main ob-
ject in life is to make our country a
paradise to live in. We want a nation
of such true, noble souls as Patrick
Heary, Thomas Paine, Lovjoy,
Brown, Phillips, Bellamy, Debs, etc.
Let the American youth not be filled
up with that dangerous spirit that
makes a hero out of every man on
horseback or in soldier's cloth.

Socialism is not specifically Ameri-
can; neither is it English, German or
French. Socialism is international; it
is the cause of all mankind. The man
without any knowledge of Socialism
is like the ship without the magnetic
compass on midocean. Socialism
enables you to view the social, eco-
nomic and political conditions from the
true standpoint. Socialism is the new
code of morals and ethics, it contains
a new philosophy of life, because it
aims at revolutionizing the very founda-
tion of social life, without which our
individual life would be reduced to the
condition of our ancestors in the
wilderness.

In spite of all the combinations of
the old capitalist parties, in spite of all
the gerrymandering of the govern-
ment, in spite of all the election
frauds, our Socialist comrades of Ger-
many have elected 57 (fifty-seven)
members to the Reichstag, against 44
in 1893. The Socialist vote increased
from 1,786,738 in 1893 to 2,125,000 in
1898! About one-fourth of all the
votes cast were given for Socialism.
Keep in mind that no man can vote
before he is 25 years of age.

In the kingdom of Saxony the Social
Democratic Party polled 270,654 votes
in 1893, against 321,781 votes received
by all the capitalist and reactionary
parties combined. Just listen: On
June 16, 1898, the Socialist vote in
Saxony was 239,000, while all capitalist
and reactionary parties combined re-
ceived but 281,000 votes. No wonder the
American capitalist press occasionally
reports that Socialism was dying out in
Germany. The king of Saxony and
Emperor William are now discussing
ways and means to abolish universal
suffrage in order to kill the Socialist
movement. God speed!

If things were properly arranged,
i. e., if the governmental gerrymander-
ing were done away with, the So-
cialists should have 120 instead of 57
to the Reichstag, having received sev-
eral hundred thousands more votes
than any other party. The new Reich-
stag will be composed as follows:

Members.	
Clerical (Catholic) Party.....	108
Social Democratic Party.....	57
National Liberals.....	49
Freethinkers or People's Party....	30
Poles.....	14
Other parties.....	41

In France the Socialists have in-
creased their vote from about 600,000
in 1896 to 1,000,000 in 1898. In Bel-
gium the Socialists have increased
their vote by about 100,000, although
the capitalist parties made a desperate
fight against them. In England our
movement is steadily gaining ground
and the Socialist papers, like London
Justice, London Labor Leader, Clarion,
etc., are doing excellent work for the
elevation of mankind.

Even in little unfortunate Spain the
voice of Socialism is making itself
heard. "The Spanish Socialists are in
favor of peace!" report our capitalist
telegraph censors. Hm! While the
pious Christian aristocracy of Spain
and the Christian American nation are
exhibiting their mutual Christian love
by hurling dynamite-bombs and gat-
ling cannon-balls against each other,
the despised, "un-Christian" Social-
ists call out to the world: Peace on
earth, good will toward men!

In conclusion, a few more remarks
concerning our movement at home.
The Social Democratic Party of
America to-day stands out as clear as
sunlight. It will be the guiding star
of the American wage-workers in the
great struggle for emancipation. John,
the next thing you must do now is to
get the branches in good condition;
get good material in the first place, for
100 solid members, clear in their mind,
convinced of the truth of Socialism,
aware of the historic mission of the
Social Democratic movement, can ac-
complish much more good for our
cause than 9,999 confusionists who
want to harmonize all sorts of "isms"
without ever trying to get a clear and
sound idea into their heads.

ROSA PROLETAIRE.

When recommending Socialist papers
to friends, do not forget the Appeal to
Reason; 25 cents a year.

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If a corporation had a conscience it couldn't pay dividends.

The incentive to labor under Socialism would be this: The man who performed no socially useful work would not draw dividends from the Social fund.

The rich have no incentive to work, that is to do any socially useful labor, because their wants are supplied by the poor who do work.

The continual exchange of his labor by the workingman for the return of a fraction only of what that labor produces, means more capital for the employing class and more misery for the working class.

Capital, divorced from labor, has no power to produce anything; yet the owner of capital has succeeded in making workingmen believe that capital, and not labor, is the basis of all progress and the builder of civilization.

The objections to Socialism disappear when it is understood, not as a scheme proceeding from the brain of an individual who has been a "failure," but as the necessary and inevitable result of the historical evolution of society.

The poor "consent" by their labor to produce all useful and luxurious things because they cannot help themselves—or have been persuaded by the owners of capital that there is no help for them except as working chumps for private masters—and this is called freedom!

In proportion to population the percentage of the tenant or home-renting class in the United States is greater today than in any European monarchy, except Great Britain. Dependence on private landlords is the best the greatest republic on earth has to offer the vast majority of its wealth producers in return for their devotion and patriotism!

The world's workers not only provide the world's idlers with food, raiment and shelter, and then supplement these essentials of life with luxuries (all taken from the surplus-values labor creates), but they deny themselves food, raiment and shelter, because they do not know that society is organized in the interest of the rich.

Socialism opposes and would abolish rent, interest and profit. It has no fight against the individual who appropriates these, but against the system which makes them necessary and is supported by them. It has. It assails no man who owns two houses, living in one and renting the other; nor the man who hires out money to bring increase without lending a hand at production; nor the merchant who takes what are termed legitimate profits in the distribution of commodities. It attacks the system which makes these things necessary and does not provide a house and the comforts of life for every human being.

William Waldorf Astor, who owns enough land and houses in New York City to give him an income of about \$4,000,000 a year, lives in England, where he spends his money. From this gigantic fortune, the New York Journal tells us, the United States government derives no revenue. But the thing is quite different with the workingman who lives (and works) in America. The latter pays a tax on every cup of tea, every glass of beer, every cigar or pipe of tobacco, and every other old thing that he consumes. Yes, and he does it not knowing that he lives in a

society organized in behalf and for the benefit of the rich class, and that this rich class has the government to which he is so devoted transformed from a government by the people into a government by a capitalist syndicate.

Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution means freedom, enlightenment and higher civilization. If the letter carrying service was in the hands of private individuals, its cost would be higher and its patronage less. The liberties and the welfare of the people are everywhere restricted or jeopardized by private ownership, just as they are everywhere expanded and secured by public ownership. Private ownership limits progress; public ownership insures it.

The net earnings of the American Bell Telephone Company for 1897 were \$1,443,636.65. This was the profit after paying all laborers, clerks, attorneys, legislators, aldermen, etc. Good thing! Yes; it puts over four millions into the coffers of the rich, to be organized into working capital for the promotion of "competition." Under a system such as the Social Democratic Party proposes what would these "net earnings" do? They would pay over 4,443 unemployed men and women \$1,000 per year, enabling them to live comfortably and die outside the poorhouse. But then, why dwell upon the benefits of collective ownership? If men and women were economically free, as Socialism would make them, wouldn't we all lose our liberties?

The silly objection to Socialism that it wants to "divide up" is still made by the thoughtless who do not know that it was long since exploded, as well as by the dishonest who know better, but lack the moral courage to be on the right side. The fact is that Socialism seeks to stop division according to the rule of capitalism, which has brought about the following result in the United States; the nation is composed of:

The working class, 52 per cent.
The middle class, 39 per cent.
The capitalist class, 9 per cent.
The national wealth is owned by:
Working class, 5 per cent.
Middle class, 24 per cent.
Capitalist class, 71 per cent.

Here you have the outcome of "dividing up" according to the rule which capitalists approve. You see we don't need to look for a system to "divide up"; such a system is already here.

There are great times ahead for the Cubans, according to the Chicago Journal, which has this to say as to the results which are to follow the passing of Spanish rulership over the island:

"It means the establishment of order in the place of chaos, of law in the place of anarchy, of justice where the rich and the powerful, and the profligate preyed for three hundred years upon the weak and the wretched, and the helpless, and in the place of the confiscation of the fruits of labor and the discouragement and degradation of the laborer, it means the restoration of the people to their rights and the elevation of serfs to the dignity and independence of free manhood."

"The American will supplant the Spanish system, the sacred rights of home and hearthstone will be protected, the fruits of toil will go into the pocket of the toiler instead of some remorseless Spanish tax gatherer. As greed and theft give way to justice, on the other hand despair and helplessness will in time give way to courage and home and enterprise, and a new Cuban people will arise, self-reliant, strong, secure in the rights of human beings."

It is perfectly safe to say that this program will not be carried out, its promises, like the promises of old political parties to the American people, will not be realized. It is equally safe to say that if the American "supplants the Spanish system," the results to the Cubans will be the same as the American people have experienced. "American system" is capitalistic, and as it has worked at home, so will it work in Cuba, and that will be exactly the opposite of the Journal's predictions. The "American system" has not protected the "sacred rights of home;" the "American system" has not "secured the rights of human beings;" the "American system" has not prevented the "confiscation of the fruits of labor." The "American system" is capitalistic.

MACHINERY IN PRODUCTION.

Few persons who are given to mouthing apologies for the present system of industry understand the tremendous effects of the modern use of machinery in production. Most of them purposely ignore the true attitude of Socialists toward machinery. The notion very largely prevails that Socialists are opposed to machinery, and trace the misery and privations which the producing class suffers to the machine itself. Both conclusions are wrong. So far from opposing the labor-saving machine, the truth is that Socialism welcomes it; instead of charging the wretchedness and poverty of the working class to the machine, the truth is that Socialism finds the cause of poverty and wretchedness in private ownership of the machine. There the difficulty lies, and instead

of sanctioning by law the use of machinery to private profit, Socialism would make it the joint property of society as a whole, thereby insuring production for public use instead of private profit.

The modern use and private ownership of machinery in production is the most revolutionizing fact in human history, and for this reason, that men under the new conditions which discovery and invention have brought upon us are unable by their individual efforts to gain a livelihood, as did their forefathers. An almost complete and universal change has taken place in the possession and ownership of the means whereby a living can be made. This is not a theory, but a condition, the certainty of which cannot be denied. Millions of men are being reduced to beggary and the dependent class, solely because of the monopolization of the modern means of production, the labor-saving machinery.

When the present century opened nearly all work was performed by hand, and the various industries afforded opportunities for living-getting. The persons engaged in them were to a large extent the owners of the tools and instruments of production. But today we see a marvelous change. Work, in constantly increasing degree, is done by machinery, and the various industries afford opportunity for gaining a living to a comparatively few only, and a diminishing few, with almost unlimited opportunity for the private owners of machinery to extend their dominion over the human race.

The machinery in the mills and factories of Great Britain alone is equal to doing the work of 700,000,000 men—more than all the adult inhabitants of the earth at this minute. The single state of Massachusetts has machinery enough to do as much work as 50,000,000 men. The same state has in its shoe factories enough machinery to produce in six months all the shoes that all the men, women and children in the United States require in twelve months. Yet there are men, women and children in Massachusetts shoeless and starving! And Great Britain, with all its mighty increase in productive power, has one pauper in every ten of its entire population.

The productive power of society, by discovery and invention, has been doubled every ten years, and even in less than ten, during the century, yet misery, want, degradation, insanity, suicide and murder, nearly all having their procuring cause in the economic distress of the masses, are commonest where capitalism is strongest. Private ownership of the machinery of production, which machinery is quite as essential to society now as the individual tool used to be, threatens and menaces society to-day more than any other one fact. Unless the machine is socialized, that is, transformed from a fleecing machine privately owned and used as an instrument of plunder into a socially-owned and publicly-administered feeding machine, blessing instead of blighting, operated for use instead of profit, universal desolation involving the destruction of civilization is inevitable.

The subject of what is to be done with labor-saving machinery is not one for flippant and heartless comment. It is by all odds the greatest of all great questions, and is answered only by Socialism. Abolish capitalism and establish cooperative production and distribution of all wealth. This requires the social ownership of the means of production, the machine which will benefit every human interest and secure a luxurious living to every human being.

GLORIOUS WAR.

The following description of a scene on a Spanish warship, is another page in the history of human beings sacrificed on the altar of a selfish ambition:

"Never were scenes of greater horror than those which marked the destruction of Spain's magnificent fleet. There was one point toward which the men on Ericsson did not dare to look. Everyone got one glance into this fragment of the pit and turned away sick and almost swooning."

"A great wound had been torn in the side of the Vizcaya. The port beam gaped, and through the flame-lipped gashes the engines and fire-rooms of the wreck were visible. Pistons still plunged, and wheels went around, for the engines still throbbed like the heart of a man wounded unto death, but still alive. The wheels astern still churned up the water, but the ship was hard aground."

"Amid the thrashing machinery the dead were thick. The plunging beams racked and crushed the dead and dying. In the basement of this inferno firemen—some of them were still alive—writhed amid the furious flames. Some were dead, and the fire danced over their torn bodies, wreathing the naked shapes with fire, and giving their features a look that no human being ought to gaze upon and live."

"These poor wretches were doomed from the start. Others had a chance for their lives, even in the event of the expected defeat, but these poor devils shut in by bolted hatches had to die. They were kept to their work by officers who stood over them with pistols and shot them down when they flinched from the furnace doors. It was a blessing that they were allowed to drink themselves to madness."

FOLLY OF INDIVIDUALISM.

"Life seems a perpetual succession of events to which man submits. We never know from which direction the sudden blow will come. Misery and happiness enter or make their exit like unexpected guests. Their laws, their orbit, their principle of gravitation, are beyond man's grasp. Virtue conduces not to happiness, nor crime to retribution. Conscience has one logic, fate another, and neither coincide. Nothing is foreseen. We live confusedly, and from hand to mouth."

This language, written many years ago by Victor Hugo, as well describes the condition of men and women today, as it did when it was written. Rich and poor, high and low, alike live in a state of insecurity. The dangers which threaten and the calamities which befall each are different; but danger and calamity are real and imminent to all classes.

The so-called accidents of life are innumerable, and for the most part cannot be foreseen or avoided. And from these, few or none are exempt. A very slight knowledge of the private life of all classes is sufficient to convince us that there is but little real happiness in the life of any. Over the life of everyone is a cloud, in which there is here and there a rift. But the rift soon closes and the darkness gathers. Theologians describe it by saying that the "trail of the serpent" is over all.

There are but few persons of age and experience who will deny the truth of these statements.

Victor Hugo did not state the causes of the phenomena of life he so ably describes. But all phenomena are the results of causes.

If we should take a delicate and complicated machine, and deprive it of a necessary screw here, and a connecting link there, disconnecting many of its co-operating parts, and then attempt to operate the machine, we should properly expect nothing but disaster from it. The reason of this would be plain. The parts not being properly connected, the organization of the machine would be injured or destroyed, and the several parts of the machine, instead of co-operating to produce the result for which the machine was intended, would simply crush against each other and destroy themselves.

Society is an organism as much as is a machine. But our present society is an organism of an imperfect type, and its parts (that is the individuals which compose it) do not properly co-operate. Instead of all these parts acting in harmony, they are for the most part in conflict with each other. Each individual has interests which conflict with those of every other individual. Every man's hand is against every other man. The individual parts of the social organization, being imperfectly organized, are, therefore, in the condition of a machine whose supposed co-operating parts are disconnected, and which is attempted to be run in that condition. Any mechanic would say that the remedy in case of the machine is to connect the disconnected parts and arrange the several elements of the machine so as to perfect the mechanical organism. But in the case of the social organism our capitalist economists, who are supposed to be our social doctors, say, do not perfect the social organism by bringing together the several individual parts into a complete co-operative organization, but let each part act as it will, running at cross purposes with other parts, the stronger portions destroying the weaker, and thus you will realize the highest ideals of civilization, and perfect your social machine. Folly and imbecility! your names are capitalist philosophy!

Capitalist philosophers! the fools will follow you until the disorganized parts of the social organism dash themselves to pieces against each other. The people will endure the miseries of our wretched society until they become unendurable; and then perhaps they will learn from the Socialists that human happiness can exist only when all the parts—that is, the individuals—of society are harmoniously organized for all industrial as well as political purposes; when each shall work for each and all for all; when the conflict of interest being removed by such harmonious organization, all shall be brothers and partners in the great business of life, which is to make each other happy.

THE WAIL OF THE POOR.

I cannot join with the old time friends
In their merry games and sports,
While the pleading wail of the poor ascends

To the Judge of the Upper Courts.
I cannot sing the glad free songs
That the world around me sings,
While my fellows move in crying throngs
At the back of the gilded klags.

—Joachim Miller.

Socialism has become a power; it permeates every fiber of our social and political life; it regenerates the nations of the world. During the present war excitement the American people have heard very little of the general progress of the Socialist movement. While the monstrous machines of destruction were in operation on the West Indian waters and while our good but misguided people were eagerly waiting for the sensational war reports, important historical events occurred in old Europe. General elections were held in Belgium, France and Germany.

CAPITALIST PATRIOTS.

It can make no possible difference to a Socialist whether the capitalist class of Spain pay big premiums on life insurance to an American or a Spanish insurance company. The principle in either case is the same. It happens, however, that the New York Life Insurance Company has a large and profitable business in the country with which the United States is at war. It is reported to have 5,000 Spanish policyholders. It maintains a director in Spain in the person of Dwight T. Reid. It has made so much money in its general business that it patriotically offered to lend the United States government \$10,000,000 at any rate of interest the latter might choose to give. But it has a different way of showing its "patriotism" in its dealings with the Spaniards. The constitution of the United States defines treason as follows, in section 3 of article III: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

Now, in a special circular printed in Spanish newspapers, over the signature of its Spanish director, and presumably with the full consent and approval of Mr. John McCall, president, the New York Life Insurance Company has canceled all restrictions as to military or naval service contained in their policies for Spain. The circular says:

"Therefore, any Spanish subject holding a policy of the New York Life Insurance Company can, without fear of prejudice to his insurance, and without paying any other premium than the one mentioned in his policy, do military service in active war."

"The insured, therefore, can be sure that in case of his death in the war the company will not refuse payment on account of his having met death in the fulfillment of his duty."

"Furthermore the company declares that it will give the insured all the facilities so that they can keep up their payments."

"If said policyholders should find themselves in difficulties to pay the premium when it falls due, the company will make loans for said payments whenever the value of the policy allows it."

"The company also informs the insured that existing contracts will be treated as if there was no war, payments on due policies shall be made punctually, death payments shall be made as soon as proof is received and premiums shall be paid at the same place and in the same manner as heretofore."

This may not be giving the enemy "aid and comfort," but it looks very much like it. There have been so many examples of capitalists treating the constitution as obsolete, and of no binding force when their interests are touched, that the New York Life Insurance Company is probably quite safe in giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." Great is the "patriotism" of the capitalists!

NEW HAMPSHIRE LEADS.

Before any active organizing work has begun, and in advance of the decision of scores of branches as to where they will stand in the future, the comrades of New Hampshire are in the field with a Social Democratic Party ticket and propose to wage active warfare against the enemy at the ballot box next fall. They have a candidate for governor in Sumner F. Clafin, of Manchester. For congressman from the First District, Comrade Charles H. Mellen, Somersworth, has been nominated, and from the Second District, Edward E. Southwick, Nashua. F. G. R. Gordon, Manchester, N. H., will furnish information to anyone desiring to organize branches of the Social Democratic Party.

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

Branch 7, Boston, Mass., has surrendered its old charter and is reorganized as a branch of the S. D. P. with the following officers: A. Makler, chairman; M. Reitman, secretary; A. Rosemeier, treasurer; Morris Jolles, organizer.

At a regular meeting of Branch 15, Brooklyn, N. Y., the members decided to withdraw from the S. D. of A. and join the S. D. P. Officers will be chosen at the next meeting of the branch.

Number 3 of Missouri, St. Louis, applies for charter in the S. D. P., all members present at the meeting agreeing that the branch reorganize.

Without one dissenting vote the members of Branch 12, Wisconsin, join the S. D. P. and are more enthusiastic than ever for the cause of Socialism.

Another accession from Brooklyn is Branch 5, which comes in a body to the S. D. P.

The Wisconsin comrades, now very busy preparing for the fall campaign, report a fine list of members from Branch 1, Milwaukee.

Branch 20, the German branch of New York City, is for International Socialism and the S. D. P. Officers of the branch have been chosen and much is expected from the comrades. Secretary, Gustave Ehrhardt, 1675 Avenue A.

VISION OF THE FUTURE.

I've sailed the dancing waters,
I've trod the golden strand,
I've spoke the sons and daughters
Of that enchanted land;
I've drunken of her fountains,
The sweetest and the best;
I've rambled o'er her mountains,
I've reveled in her rest.

Within her spaeous borders
No needy man I found,
No aimless, idle boarders,
No gentle woman bound;
There Truth was more than treasure,
And Love the scales doth hold;
There Mercy hath no measure,
And Man is more than Gold.

That land is straight before us:
Oh, hail her, Star of Morn!
Come, join the joyous chorus
Of sons to Freedom born.
Come, help each burdened nation
From sorrow find surcease
In world-wide federation,
An everlasting peace.

—Walter Ratcliffe.

USEFUL FACTS.

About two-thirds of the larger German cities now own and operate their own waterworks; they yield from 10 to 15 per cent. profit annually.

The Japanese have established commercial schools where the methods of business practiced by capitalists in America are taught.

The British House of Commons has appointed a committee to consider the question of municipal telephones.

The government of New Zealand is contemplating a loan of \$10,000,000 to be used in railroad construction and irrigation.

Matches are sold in Japan at 80 cents for 100 dozen boxes. Just think of Japanese competition with American match makers.

There are reported to be 333 electric light plants in operation under municipal ownership in the United States.

The cost of construction of the great Siberian railway by the Russian government has been \$188,014,338.

The cost of the war, against Spain for a year, ending June 30, 1899, according to official estimates, is \$379,192,000.

The telegraph system of Japan, controlled by the government, comprises 12,000 miles of land lines, 388 of submarine cables, and the cable to Formosa, which is 800 miles.

Last year Manchester made a profit of \$100,000, Bradford a profit of \$30,000, and Edinburgh \$17,000 from municipal electric lighting.

German officials charged with securing of recruits for the army find that owing to the increasing industrialism in Germany the bodily length and strength of the factory population is steadily diminishing. Some of the exclusively industrial districts by the Rhine and in Westphalia, Saxony and other sections do not furnish 50 per cent. of the recruits they did 50 years ago.

MUNICIPAL WORKSHOPS.

In the parish of Battersea in London the contract is unknown, all of the work of the parish since October, 1895, being carried on by the vestry's own men, whether it is making of a main sewer, laying of a pavement or construction of a public building. Battersea is ahead of all other English communities in this respect, for not even Birmingham, Manchester or Glasgow have dispensed wholly with the contractor. Battersea is also first to establish municipal workshops, and the building just completed contains shops for carpenters, wheelwrights, wagon-makers, plumbers, blacksmiths, painters, masons, harness-makers and other trades. All sorts of tools are provided. At least 160 skilled mechanics will be employed within doors, while between 700 and 800 are employed outdoors.

Men employed by Battersea work eight hours a day, are paid trade union rate of wages, are entitled to a week's holiday each year, sick pay, and a pension in cases of accident during employment. Meanwhile the parish has found a real economy in the plan. From October, 1895, to Jan. 1, 1898, work had been done to the amount of £21,818, and it is noteworthy that this was £1,858 below the estimated cost.

The economic and social evolution is even now being prepared by the inherent weakness of the capitalist system, which has already seen its best days. The capitalist class itself has conclusively shown that it is unable to handle the great means and instruments of production and distribution in any way to the advantage of the community. Periods of wild inflation and ruinous depression; overcrowded towns and deserted country; luxury above and starvation below; physical improvement of the well-to-do class, accompanied by continuous deterioration and enfeeblement of the working class; monopoly extending yet the powers of the state used against the people—such are a few of the more obvious shortcomings of fully-developed capitalism which are preparing its downfall in every country.—H. M. Hyndman.

Every member who receives The Herald should regard it as a duty to the party to secure one or more subscriptions, at 50 cents per year. The paper is yours, and the movement will grow with its circulation.

THE CHICAGO ALDERMAN.

The International Journal of Ethics prints an able article by Jane Addams, of the Hull House, on "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption," from which the following is taken:

"Because of simple friendliness, the alderman is expected to pay rent for the hard-pressed tenant when no rent is forthcoming, to find jobs when work is hard to get, to procure and divide among his constituents all the places which he can seize from the city hall. The alderman of the Nineteenth Ward at one time made the proud boast that he had two thousand six hundred people in his ward upon the public payroll. This, of course, included day-laborers, but each one felt under distinct obligations to him for getting the job. When we reflect that this is one-third of the entire vote of the ward, we realize that it is very important to vote for the right man, since there is, at the least, one chance out of three for a job.

"If we recollect, further, that the franchise-seeking companies pay respectful heed to the applicants backed by the alderman; the question of voting for the successful man becomes as much an industrial as a political one. An Italian laborer wants a job more than anything else, and quite simply votes for the man who promises him one. It is not so different from his relation to the padrone, and, indeed, the two strengthen each other.

"The alderman may himself be quite sincere in his acts of kindness. In certain stages of moral evolution a man is incapable of unselfish action; the results of which will not benefit some one of his acquaintances; still more, of conduct that does not aim to assist any individual whatsoever; and it is a long step in moral progress to appreciate the work done by the individual for the community. An office-seeker may begin with the simple desire to alleviate suffering, and this may gradually change into the desire to put his constituents under obligations to him; but the action of such an individual becomes a demoralizing element in the community when a noble purpose is made the cloak for the satisfaction of lower impulses, and when the plastic morals of his constituents are thus formed to his own undeveloped standards.

"While our political system has grown more and more complicated upon the basic assumption that the individual merges his interest in those of the community, and attains his own ends in terms of the common weal, such men living in the community are seeking solely their own advantage and striving to obtain personal ends at the expense of the state. As the political system cannot change its direction, it brings the incongruity to the extreme limit of contradiction. A man holding office is known to the community to be there for the sake of 'what there is in it' or a candidate openly announces that his business affairs have gone badly; that he wants his chance at public office; that his opponent is now rich enough.

"The alderman gives presents at weddings and christenings. He seizes these days of family festivities for making friends. It is easiest to reach people in the holiday mood of expansive good will, but on their side it seems natural and kindly that he should do it. The alderman procures passes from the railroads when his constituents wish to visit friends or to attend the funerals of distant relatives; he buys tickets galore for benefit entertainments given for a widow or a consumptive in peculiar distress; he contrives to prizes which are awarded to the handsomest lady or the most popular man. At a church bazaar, for instance, the alderman finds the stage set for his dramatic performance. When others are spending pennies he is spending dollars. Where anxious relatives are canvassing to secure votes for the two most beautiful children who are being voted upon, he recklessly buys votes from both sides, and laughingly declines to say which one he likes the best, buying off the young lady who is persistently determined to find out with five dollars for the flower bazaar, the posies, of course, to be sent to the sick of the parish. The moral atmosphere of a bazaar suits him exactly. He murmurs many times, 'Never mind; the money all goes to the poor,' or 'It is all straight enough if the church gets it,' or 'The poor won't ask too many questions.' The oftener he can put sentiments of that sort into the minds of his constituents the better he is pleased. Nothing so rapidly prepares them to take his view of money-getting and money-spending.

"There is something archaic in a community of simple people in their attitude toward death and burial. Nothing so easy to collect money for as a funeral, and one involuntarily remembers that the early religious tithes were paid to ward off death and ghosts. At times one encounters almost the Greek feeling in regard to burial. If the alderman seizes upon festivities for expressions of his good will, much more does he seize upon periods of sorrow. At a funeral he has the double advantage of ministering to a genuine craving for comfort and solace, and at the same time of assisting at an important social function. That curious feeling of remorse, which is an accompaniment of quick sorrow, that desire to 'make up' for past delinquencies, to show the world how much, after all, we loved the person who has just died, is as natural as it is universal.

"In addition to this, there is among

the poor, who have few social occasions, a great desire for a well-arranged funeral, the grade of which almost determines their social standing in the neighborhood. The alderman saves the very poorest of his constituents from that awful horror of burial by the county; he provides carriages for the poor, who otherwise could not have them; for the more prosperous he sends extra carriages, so that they may invite more friends and have a longer procession; for the most prosperous of all there will be probably only a large 'flower piece.' It may be too much to say that all the relatives and friends who ride in the carriages provided by the alderman's bounty vote for him, but they are certainly influenced by his kindness, and talk of his virtues during the long hours of the ride back and forth from the suburban cemetery. A man who would ask at such a time where all this money comes from would be considered sinister. They certainly do not dissent to the alderman's corruption during the long ride. You cannot very well run a man down when you are sitting in a carriage provided by his generosity. The tendency to speak lightly of the faults of the dead and to judge them gently is transferred to the living, and many a man at such a time has formulated a lenient judgment of political corruption and has heard kindly speeches which he has remembered on election day. 'Ah, well, he has a big Irish heart. He is good to the widow and the fatherless.'

"Indeed, what headway can the notion of civic purity, of honesty of administration, make against this big manifestation of human friendliness, this staking survival of village kindness? The notions of the civic reformer are negative and impotent before it. The reformers give themselves over largely to criticisms of the present state of affairs, to writing and talking of what the future must be; but their goodness is not dramatic; it is not even concrete and human.

"Such an alderman will keep a standing account with an undertaker, and telephone every week, and sometimes more than once, the kind of outfit he wishes provided for a bereaved constituent, until the sum may roll up into hundreds a year. Such a man understands what the people want, and ministers just as truly to a great human need as the musician or the artist does."

THEORY AND PRACTICE.

The theory is the plan, the practice is the execution. When we want to build a ship, a bridge, a cathedral, a house, do we set to work without any plans? Could we build at all without a theory of architecture, or make engines without a theory of mechanics, or keep accounts without a theory of arithmetic?

You cannot have a practice without a theory; you cannot do a thing until you decide what to do, and how to do it. The theory is the bow; the practice is the do.

Therefore, when a man tells you that you are too practical to believe in theories, or that you are too practical to follow ideals, you may conclude that he is either a rascal or an idiot.

Again, when you are told that "as a practical man you will see that it is impossible," just say to yourself, "As a practical man, I mean to find out why it is not possible, or how it might be made possible; and I will begin by trying to find out why you wish me to condemn it without any investigation."

Further, as a really practical man you will give due weight to the fact that many things which these "impossibles" declared impossible have actually come to pass, have been done, have proved practical.

In science, in art, in industry, in politics, in war, the impossible has been accomplished over and over again. And as practical men you will feel that what has happened, once may happen more than once.

Further, when you demand more wages, shorter hours, healthier homes, cheaper fares, better water, to what do the "impossibles" appeal for reasons for refusing? Tell me, is it not true that the demands of the worker are commonly met by allusions to "Political Economy"? What is "Political Economy"? It is a theory! Aha! It is a theory, and a false and stupid theory. And do not these "impossibles" implore you to mistrust all theories? They do. But the "Law of Supply and Demand," the "Iron Law of Wages," and all those other immutable "laws," are nothing but theories.

Now, my hard-headed, practical friends, what do you think of these editors and members of Parliament, of these journalists and statesmen? When you want a thing which they don't want you to have they say it is impossible. When you ask them why it is impossible they appeal to the theory of Political Economy.

When a theory is against you, they bid you accept it; when it is for you, they bid you refuse it. They tell you in one breath that you despise theories, and in the next they quote a theory. They flatter you that you are too practical to trust words, but must have facts, and all the while they are giving these two words impossible and practical instead of the things you want and need.

And your cheer them, and believe them, and elect them, my intelligent, hard-headed, practical friends, and they play you for Chinamen.—Robert Blatchford.

Constitution of State Union.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located as the Union may determine.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates representing local branches in the state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the state.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall consist of five members and shall have general supervision of the State Union. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 5. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a two-thirds vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Sec. 8. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches, shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

Sec. 11. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may determine.

THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Sec. 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary, determine the policy of the state organization and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization; provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Constitution of Local Branches.

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____ County of _____ shall be known as Local Branch No. _____ of _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America, and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, — members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local union may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council, and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The Board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the Board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution, the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the State, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization, and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five per cent of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

The Impairment of Motives to Exertion.

FROM FRANKLIN M. SPRAGUE'S "SOCIALISM."

It is objected to Socialism that it would impair the motives to exertion, and thus diminish production and retard progress. "The purely economic argument against Socialism is that it would be less efficient in producing wealth." This is important if true. Mr. Rae says, "The incentives to energy of production would be relaxed." Again he tells us that "producer's wealth, they [Socialists] hold, should be common property, and neither be owned nor inherited by individuals. If this theory were to be enforced it would be fatal to progress."

It is admitted that without incentive men will not labor; that without labor there can be no production; and that without production there can be no progress; and, further, that, ceteris paribus, in proportion as these causes operate will be their respective effects. But this is not in issue. The question is, would Socialism weaken individual incentive and occasion the ill complained of? Mr. Rae answers in the affirmative. How does he know? He does not. He boldly assumes that society is still, and must continue to be, in that stage of development in which, if every man fights for himself and all fight each other, "production" and "progress" will be greater than if all the members of society should work together for a common end under a system of co-operation. Such co-operation is Socialism. In opposing Socialism, Mr. Rae finds it necessary to lay down the principle that in disunion there is strength; a principle that antagonizes all history and experience.

The following considerations are pertinent to this subject:

1. This objection does not affect the principles of Socialism, but only its modus operandi.

2. The objection is founded on the assumptions of the existing political economy, and is true under this system, but has no application to a Socialistic state. Adam Smith said, "A person who can acquire no property can have no other interest but to eat as much, and to labor as little, as possible." He is speaking only of slave labor under a capitalistic regime. His statement is a general truth. Under Socialism, where every one is a free man and a joint owner of the entire capital, and the conditions are different, toto coelo, it is unwarrantably declared that the results will be the same.

3. It is evident that no one can safely dogmatize in this matter. Dr. Woolsey frankly admits that "an unknown quantity enters into the question. Everything depends on the influence of the new conditions of work and on the new causes in general acting upon the character of the workmen themselves. Will they be made manly, self-relying, conscientious, and provident, or the opposite of all this?"

4. It is conceded that an economic interest on the part of the individual must be maintained under Socialism. Schaeffle says, "Socialism would have to give the individual at least as strong an interest in the collective work as he has under the liberal system of production. It would have to secure to every subgroup a premium on extraordinary amounts of collective production, and a loss through collective slackness; . . . to bestow effective distinction on all special success in technical development, and duly to reward great individual merit." It by no means follows, however, that the interest in the one system need be exactly equal to that in the other. An excess of economic zeal has destroyed the harmony and happiness of many lives.

5. The objection under consideration proceeds on the assumption that economic interest under any regime necessarily depends for its healthy existence and operation upon the opportunity and expectation of accumulating private riches. This assumption cannot for a moment be admitted.

6. Inasmuch as the income and social well-being of every individual would depend, first, upon his own zeal, and second, upon the zeal of others, he would be doubly interested in securing the largest possible product; for his share of this product would measure the amount of necessary comforts and luxuries which he would receive. Each workman would, therefore, have a personal interest in the work of every other. A careless or lazy workman would receive less than the more worthy; every one would be interested in the efficiency of labor, by which cost would be reduced and the social product increased. So far from impairing the motive to effort, it is easy to imagine almost any degree of honest pride and enthusiasm of labor when every workman had a personal interest in the work of every other; and, on the other hand, the detestation with which idleness and laziness would be regarded when these vices assumed the character of direct injury to one's fellows and of treason to the State.

7. Because public functionaries in a capitalistic state are often indifferent as to economic results, it is erroneously inferred that the same would be true in the Socialistic state. "It would," we are told, "render universal the maladministration inherent in all public productive departments." It is entirely overlooked that the conditions are wholly changed. Under capitalism

the official has no economic interest at stake. Under Socialism, such interest is bound up with the results of the social production. In the former case he draws his pay regardless of the quality of his work; in the latter, both pay and position are affected by the quality of work. It is certain that when political preferment and honor depended upon economic products, a stimulus would be given to production.

8. At present large numbers do not work; they have no contact with labor, no interest in lightening its burden or improving its methods. Under Socialism, all are workers; all will therefore have an interest in lightening the burden of labor, and we might reasonably expect an era of labor-saving inventions such as capitalism has never dreamed of.

9. There are other motives to exertion even stronger than the desire of riches, but which are generally ignored by the critics of Socialism. There are, besides the demands which satisfy merely physical wants, the love of glory, the desire of esteem, family affection, the love of justice, the passion for knowledge, and even the religious principle, all of which are springs of human activity often more potent than the love for money; and when their activity and realization are made to depend entirely upon labor, manual, mental, or moral, is it reasonable to suppose that there would be any lack of incentive to economic or other social effort?

We have only to witness the generous and wholesome rivalries among thousands of college students where the stimulus of pecuniary reward is unknown, to satisfy us on this point. We speak from personal observation and knowledge in saying that we have never witnessed a nobler ambition and spirit of self-sacrifice than was displayed in the army that suppressed the Rebellion. Soldiers, without the least regard to a money consideration, vied with each other in performing the most difficult and dangerous duties.

10. The maxim, "Each for all and all for each," admits and demands that only that kind of degree of self-interest which is just or tolerable in a state of society.

11. It is inherently probable that production would be vastly greater when men assisted and encouraged each other, than when they opposed and ruined each other. To hold to the contrary is anarchistic, unethical and unnatural.

12. The capitalistic system, by depriving wage-workers of a just share in the product, tends to destroy their interest in the work, and to render them lazy, wasteful, and inefficient. The bitterest and most universal complaint of employers of labor is, "The workmen take no interest in their work."

13. A clear distinction should be made between the motives to efforts for a comfortable subsistence, and the motives to efforts for acquiring riches. It is the last class of motives of which capitalism is ever jealous, but for which Socialism, backed by ethical science, declares the judgment day to be at hand.

14. The argument that State-help would impair the motive to effort is fallacious. It employs the term State-help as the equivalent of charity. It contrasts State-help with self-help under the capitalistic regime, and assumes that Socialism will render all citizens objects of charity, paupers, and as such socially demoralized. This is a strange mistake. The very object of Socialism is to render State-help in this sense unnecessary. There is a sense in which the State helps and must help its members. Property, as now conceived, can neither be acquired nor held without the aid of the State through its laws. State-help, in protecting life and limb, is demanded by all. Economically speaking, men are becoming more and more dependent upon the help of each other. "In his economic position, and in the manner and in the success of his economic activity, and in all that pertains to his income and to his resources, the individual becomes dependent upon the economic activity and acts of others."

Indeed, all communication by mail, telegraph or telephone is through State-help. We cannot go anywhere, nor transport anything, nor engage in any business, without the assistance and security of the laws; that is, without State-help. This is the nature of State-help which Socialism will render to individuals. It will help them to help themselves. It will encourage them by removing obstacles which society now puts in their way. It will help them, as State-help, by its roads and regulations, now assists a traveler on his way, and enables him to reach his destination.

Besides these considerations which bear directly on the question before us, and render it at least improbable that in the Co-operative Commonwealth the motive to effort would be impaired, production diminished, and progress retarded, another phase of the subject is worthy of attention. We will pass by the fact that, even if the incentive to effort should be somewhat weakened, the large number of present non-producers which would be added to the army of workers would

greatly increase production; and the further fact that the immense waste of capitalism would be saved under Socialism, and tend still further to the total production. Suppose, then, that material "progress" was retarded; what would happen? Is it absolutely certain that society could not survive the terrible consequences should it slacken its pace in "making haste to be rich?"

The most recent and significant voice of political economy says, "To show that a practical measure will create wealth is not enough to commend it. The main question is, what effect will it have on the entire life of the nation, also of humanity? The true starting point in economic discussions is the ethical community, of which the individual is a member." This is well and bravely said. The race of nations is not always to the swift. This country would live longer if it lived more slowly. Our mushroom growth, however flattering to our vanity, is anything but assuring to the students of history. The result of economic zeal under capitalism is the vast accumulation of private riches; and this, if history repeats itself, will be the signal for national decay and dissolution. Not until "silver was in Jerusalem as stones," was the powerful kingdom of the Israelites divided and destroyed. Mighty Babylon succumbed, not to the armies of Cyrus, but to the fatal revelry begotten of her wealth and splendor; and the wonder of the whole world became "an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant." The glory of Sparta departed with the acquisition of wealth. A single sentence of the historian reveals the cause of her fall: "The primitive simplicity of Spartan manners had been completely destroyed by the collection of wealth into a few hands, and by the consequent progress of luxury." The rise and power of the different states of Greece were contemporary with the industrious habits of all the people. Chiefs and nobles at first performed manual labor, and their wives and daughters not only wove and spun, but assisted their slaves, fetching water and washing garments; but with the accumulation of wealth, and the consequent weakening of physical and moral fiber, came national decay and ruin.

Gibbon dates the decline of the Roman Empire from the accession of Commodus, when the wealth of all Europe, Asia and Africa lay at her feet. In more recent times when Spain began to overflow with gold under Charles V., her national power and glory began to ebb. Professor Ely says truly, "Economic forces are prominent in the decay of civilization." History furnishes abundant evidence that in all ages cities and countries become popular and powerful, then perish from their riches and consequent moral rotteness.

Mr. Rae tells us that "Socialists ignore the civilizing value of private property and inheritance." A more important question in the light of history is, do political economists and advocates of the capitalistic system appreciate the demoralizing and ruinous tendencies of these institutions?

If all social "progress" depends on the amassing of property, at what point does society begin to progress backwards?

This word "progress" may yet break the back of free institutions. The notion is now practically limited to materialism in its broadest and grossest sense; it suggests gigantic financial schemes, the development of natural resources, the utilization of the forces of nature, and the material aggrandizement of individuals and nations; in a word, the enthronement of physical science as paramount to all other considerations, temporal or eternal. Moral and psychological science of infinite importance to the race is comparatively neglected and ignored. We do not worship "the good old times," nor do we care to have civilization set back to primitive times; but we have no objection to going back to what was good and better than now. We forget that the world got along fairly well without steam engines, railroads, electric wires and printing presses. Plato was something of a traveler and writer. Socrates succeeded in getting around Athens without an elevated railway, and he understood tolerably well the art of conversation. Could Noah have availed himself of our "progress" and built the ark in thirty days, the day of doom for the race would have been hastened one hundred and twenty years. The "fulness of time," according to infinite wisdom, so far from being in the nineteenth century, was two thousand years ago. Christ managed to get along without steam, and actually went on foot through Palestine. Bacon and Shakespeare, Franklin and Washington, without the telegraph and telephone, contrived to say and do some things worth remembering. Flatter ourselves as we may, material "progress" alone will never restore "the lost arts," bring back the as yet unapproached Attic culture, or introduce the millennium. We believe in "progress," only do not let us as individuals or nations seek to gain the whole world at the expense of losing heaven both here and hereafter. The sole condition of all healthy, happy human life, is mens sana in corpore sano.

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THE PLATFORM.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

ST. LOUIS SOCIALISTS.

Branch No. 6 of the Social Democratic Party of St. Louis, Mo., is pushing the good work. Sunday, July 24, in the afternoon, and evening, this branch will give a pleasant garden festival at Eversback's Garden, corner of Arsenal street and Gravois avenue, to which all comrades of St. Louis and their families are urgently invited. Family tickets are 10 cents. Zither music by Comrades Dorn, Jost, Lavinski, Eri and others, has been secured, also other good concert and dancing music. Songs, recitations, etc., are on the program. Comrade G. A. Hoehn will speak on the subject, "The Birth of the Social Democratic Party of America." Comrade Julius H. Friton will give a fine recitation. One of the features of the festival will be the singing of Socialist songs by all the comrades on the ground.

Every Socialist and friend of our cause whom this note reaches in St. Louis and vicinity should attend. It will be a pleasant Socialist garden festival and an excellent Socialist mass meeting at the same time. Don't forget the date—Sunday, July 24.

THE COMMITTEE.

BRANCH 3, ST. LOUIS.

Branch 3, St. Louis, in meeting June 28, took action on the delegates' report on the convention made in the previous meeting. After a long discussion it was unanimously decided to withdraw from the S. D. of A. In meeting of July 12, after receiving a constitution of the S. D. P. of A., it was decided that this branch reorganize under the S. D. P. of A., all members expressing themselves in favor of independent political action on the lines of International Socialism. We are well pleased with the stand taken in regard to the trade union movement. We are glad to know that at last we have a Socialist party under whose banner the trade union can fight their oppressors on political lines. We are also well pleased to have our true Comrade E. V. Debs to lead us in the new party.

May the oppressed throughout the land take new hope and work for the early establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

WM. BUESCHE.

Secy. Missouri Branch No. 3.

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